THURSDAY, *March* 24, 1768. THE [NUMB. 98.]

VIRGINIA GAZETTE.

Open to ALL PARTIES, but Influenced by NONE.

MONITOR V.

Ad reipublicæ firmandas & ſtabiliendas vires, ſanandos populos, omnis noſtra pergit oratio. CICERO de Legibus.

The aim of theſe papers is to eſtabliſh the rights of the colonies, to provide for their ſtrength and welfare, upon a ſure and ſolid foundation.

WHEN I earneſtly recommend to my countrymen, in *America*, the inſtructing their *real repreſentatives* to petition to our moſt gracious Sovereign againſt thoſe late acts of the *Britiſh* parliament, which infringe our liberties; and for a confirmation of thoſe rights, which we have hitherto uninterruptedly poſſeſſed; I comply perfectly, in my judgment, with the profeſſion made in this motto. For theſe acts tending to make all property among us precarious, to expoſe us to vice, violence and contempt, are but too manifeſtly inconſiſtent with our ſtrength or welfare; and a confirmation of our rights, would eſtabliſh them on a ſure and ſolid foundation, ſo as to merit the title of the *Magna Charta Americana*. What were the means, by which our forefathers in *England* obtained their Magna Charta, I do not ſtop here to enquire; it is ſufficient to me, that it is generally agreed to have been a recapitulation of thoſe privileges which they had long enjoyed; and what was therefore in juſtice their due. The rights we claim, have been our uninterrupted poſſeſſion for upwards of an hundred years. I ſay uninterrupted, for otherwiſe our rights are as old as the *Britiſh* conſtitution; ſince we are the direct and lineal deſcendants of *Britons*. Our *American* forefathers had therefore no abſolute occaſion for charters to confirm their liberties to us their deſcendants, as it muſt have been concluded that we were in courſe entitled to them; but they juſtly conſidered, that a poſſeſſion ſo dear as liberty could not be guarded with too much ſecurity. This conſideration is a ſufficient anſwer to thoſe, who conclude our privileges to be null and void, becauſe they were held from the royal charter; which, ſay they, it is not in the power of prerogative to grant; * theſe charters are not grants of new rights, but in confirmation of old ones; nor is it worth diſputing whether prerogative *could* grant them; it would be enough for us, that prerogative *did* grant them, that the parliament *acquieſced* in the grant, and that the free people of *Britain acted under the ſecurity* of that grant. Surely then it could not be deemed conſiſtent with the laws of honour or juſtice, that the parliament ſhould ſuffer the people to be deluded by a nugatory grant; that they ſhould countenance, at leaſt, theſe charters, under the ſecurity of which, the firſt ſettlers might be tempted to diveſt themſelves of the real liberties they poſſeſſed in *Great-Britain*. The very ſuppoſition is in the higheſt manner derogatory of the credit, and injurious to the honour of parliament; and therefore cannot be admitted. But this ſuppoſition, wretched as it is, will become ſtill more contemptible, when we reflect, that the laſt of theſe charters was granted in the reign of *George* the II. when there remained little doubt concerning the nature of the *Britiſh* conſtitution, the liberties of the people, or the power of prerogative, ſince the bill of rights had, long before that period, fixed them upon the ſame determined principles by which they have ever ſince been governed. And this laſt charter, has reſerved to the *Americans* the ſame privileges, and in the ſame words, as hath the firſt in the reign of *James* the I. What? were all the parliaments, from that period to this, aſleep, that they ſuffered prerogative thus to uſurp their rights; till *Grenville* and his patriotic party awakened this parliament to reclaim them?

Of the ſame leaven is that ſuppoſition, that theſe liberties were never intended or thought of in thoſe charters. †—Have words then no meaning, or are they to give up their meaning, like we our liberties, to pleaſe the accompliſhed Mr. *Grenville?* The words are reſerving to the *Americans*, the privileges, immunities, franchiſes and liberties of *Britiſh* ſubjects, as if born within the realm of *Britain*. Could words ſo expreſs, ſo poſitive as theſe, be without meaning? Could they fail being perfectly underſtood by thoſe who granted and thoſe who received the charters? To imagine then that the firſt ſettlers did not underſtand theſe words, in the ſenſe of giving their property by their own conſent, expreſſed by themſelves, or their repreſentatives, which was the well known ground of *Britiſh* liberty, when, agreeably to this acceptation, they immediately choſe repreſentatives to tax them, and who have continued ſolely to lay impoſitions upon them, is a ſuppoſition that deſerves only to be mentioned, that it may be deſpiſed. It is like all the reſt of *Grenville*'s ſophiſtry, moſt contemptible; indeed I have often lamented, that Mr. *Grenville*'s ſpeech, in ſupport of the ſtamp-act, was not printed, as well as Mr. *Pitt*'s againſt it. The wretched ſophiſtry, with which he endeavoured to prove the legitimacy of his hideous offſpring, ſeemed to me the ſtrongeſt mark of its being ſpurious. How ſtrange, how very ſtrange it is, that a wiſe, a free, a generous people, ſhould ever have been influenced by a man, who never, in any one act of his adminiſtration, ſhewed either wiſdom or virtue; and whoſe chief characteriſtic, is the being obſtinately wedded to his own weak, confined, and wicked politics! Strange that they do not ſee their own liberties embarked in the ſame bottom with ours; and that the violence which ſinks the one, muſt overwhelm the other. When our rights are thus plain and indubitable, our caſe becomes general, and *Britain* herſelf is intereſted in the ſupport of it: Whenever our liberties are laid low, their rights and privileges will not be of long duration; whenever any impious man ſhall dare to impoſe ſhackles upon us, their hands will not long remain unfettered.

The liberties then of our forefathers, were coeval with the *Britiſh* conſtitution, they were confirmed by various Kings, and recognized by various parliaments; we then my countrymen are free: And let us tell our brethren in *Britain*, that we are free; let us tell it with a ſpirit becoming thoſe who claim ſo noble a brotherhood; with a *Britiſh* ſpirit, than which a nobler never yet animated a free people!

In looking forward, to the very probable conſequences of a peaceable acquieſcence under the late aſſumed authority of the *Britiſh* parliament, I ſhudder with apprehenſion. Our *money* only is ſeized upon now, to *relieve the debt of Great-Britain*; and will not our *youth* be ravaged from us next to *fight* her battles, in the fields of *Germany*, or in the *Indian* ocean? Will not a preſs-gang be our next ſcourge? I ſee already men torn from their weeping and diſtreſſed families, without hope, without redreſs, never to return, by an unrelenting, lawleſs crew, unbridled by our own civil and legiſlative authority, and wantonly cruel in the execution of deſpotic power. I ſee every endearing tie of father, huſband, ſon and brother, torn aſunder, unreſpited, unpitied, unreprieved. I ſee my weeping country, worn down with reiterated ſorrows and alarms, imploring aid, peace, reſpite, or revenge: Alas! In vain, her youthful ſons are now no more, fallen in foreign wars and on unhoſpitable ſhores; nothing but feeble age remains to mix his unavailing tears with hers. Gods! Are we men, and ſhall we ſuffer the foundation to be laid for miſeries like theſe; ſhall we look tamely on while the yoke is fixed upon us, under which we muſt forever groan? We and our poſterity forever. Shall we thus devote ourſelves and them to the malice of private lurking informers, and the hateful inſults of petty authority; to be hunted like beaſts of prey, like murderers and felons; our property, our liberty, our happineſs given up to miniſters, who having grown ſavage in the exerciſe of deſpotiſm, ſhall contrive for us new hardſhips, new oppreſſions, and tyrannize without meaſure, without fear, without mercy. Even in *England*, a miniſter has been found daring and wicked enough to propoſe in parliament, that authority ſhould be given to the officers of preſs-gangs to break into any houſe, and at any time, and carry off any one who was ſaid to be a ſailor, to make it puniſhable for any one to conceal ſuch men, and to put them to their own oath to prove the facts for which they were to ſuffer. And this bill, fraught as it was with cruelty and oppreſſion, could hardly be rejected by the univerſal indignation expreſſed againſt it, by all the efforts of patriotiſm and powers of eloquence, ſuch as even CICERO and DEMOSTHENES never excelled. What ſhall we then, who are unrepreſented, unfriended and unheard, expect? Shall we hope a miniſter ſo wicked and ſo daring will never live: Vain hope, even now he lives. Mr. PITT's ſpeech informs us that Sir ROBERT WALPOLE, daring and wicked as he was, did not dare to tax *America*. But he who has dared, has wickedly dared to tax her, lives ſtill, he lives to ſee his meaſures adopted, aſſerted and executed; and he may live to propoſe ſucceſsfully *an impreſs bill for America*. When ſuch a bill, tyrannical in itſelf, and parental of tyranny in others, giving confidence to the arrogant, and ſecurity to the cruel, ſhall have paſſed; then muſt we prepare to ſee our property raviſhed from us, our houſes broke open, our wives, our daughters, violated, ourſelves torn from the tenderneſs and careſſes of our families, and dragged, with every circumſtance of violence and barbarity, to hardſhips, labour, inſults, and oppreſſion. So will the tyrant or his minions doom; ſuch are the ills which tyranny invents, and ſlavery muſt bear; ills, which cannot be heard without indignation, nor thought of without horror. ‡ If there be yet any among my countrymen, who doubt whether *Grenville* himſelf would be capable of ſuch atrocious cruelties, let ſuch bethink them how neceſſary a part of his plan a *preſs-bill* is, to *continue* us in *that weakneſs*, which having once *admitted*, will always confirm his tyranny. *The taking from us our youth, and ſtrength*, will *rivet* the *chains*, which the *giving and granting our property* muſt *impoſe* upon us. Even thoſe who

Counſel ignoble eaſe and peaceful ſloth,

flatter themſelves that when we grow ſtronger, we ſhall ſhake off the yoke. Deluſive hope! Will the tyrannous miniſter ſuffer us to grow ſtronger, does ſlavery give ſtrength? Have I not ſhewn that the fabrick which liberty rears to beauty, ſtrength and grandeur, by ſlavery is ſoon defaced and ruined? § We have indeed grown ſtrong and flouriſhed to amazement for our years; but why? becauſe the unqueſtioned enjoyment of liberty and property drew emigrants to us in troops; but when theſe attractions are no more, when in their ſtead, grim tyranny ſhall rear his hideous form, who is it that will approach him; then, when an *American* and a ſlave are one, who is it that will voluntarily ſeek bondage in *America*! If any man be yet inclined to leave his liberty at mercy, and truſt in the juſtice and humanity of great men; let them read the liſt of bribes, for which the Chancellor BACON ſet juſtice to ſale, let him examine the impeachments of the chief juſtice TRESSILIAN, and the reſt of the judges, the campaign of *Jeffrey's* and the adminiſtration of Sir *Robert Walpole*; ‖ then bluſh at his credulity and retract his error.

Some there are, who acknowledging, for who can deny it, the violation of our liberties, yet think there is a neceſſity of ſubmitting to it. Neceſſity, abſolute neceſſity, is a formidable ſound; well calculated to awe the weak into ſilence, and terrify the timid into ſubmiſſion. But for my part, I cannot conceive the neceſſity of becoming a ſlave, while there remains a ditch in which one may die free; nor can I well imagine a greater neceſſity ever to exiſt, than that which impended over the *Athenians* from *Xerxes* and his million, over the ſtarving *Romans* from a powerful beſieger, over the unwarlike people of *Flanders* from veteran troops and a very potent monarch, or than that which now operates upon the *Corſicans* from the *French* and *Genoeſe*, upon the *Georgians* from the mighty force of the *Turkiſh* empire. They who know that the battle is not always to the ſtrong, nor the race to the ſwift; will not pay a very ready acquieſcence to formidable words, and confident aſſertions. But where is the neceſſity that withholds us from carrying the ſufferings of the innocent, and the injuries of the oppreſſed, to the foot of the throne? That throne whoſe ſupports are juſtice and mercy, that throne from whence our moſt gracious Sovereign has already promiſed us, that he will maintain the liberties and rights of all his ſubjects. I counſel not ſeditions and tumultuous oppoſition, but a clear and reſpectful repreſentation of our rights and grievances, with an humble petition for relief. And I rely on the known grace and juſtice of his Majeſty, for redreſs, on the virtue of the free people of *England*, for encouragement and approbation. But in no event muſt our liberties be given up; our liberties, which like the hairs of the ſtrong man, are the ſeat of our ſtrength; if theſe therefore be ſhorn away, it will be then in vain to cry out *The Philiſtines be upon you.*

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* *See the Lords proteſt againſt the repeal of the ſtamp-act.*

† *See the proteſt.*

‡ *If the reader would ſee to what dangerous and daring lengths a tyrannizing miniſter will go, and how far the modeſty of a real repreſentative will ſuffer him, he will do well to peruſe the debates on the impreſs and exciſe bills.*

§ *See Monitor* II.

‖ *All thoſe invaders of the liberties of the people were afterwards called to an account for it by the* real *repreſentatives of the people; had they been* virtual, *they would have aided the tyranny inſtead of impeaching it.* Treſſilian, *and the judges, were hanged at the inſtance of the commons, alarmed at the cries, and incenſed at the injuries of their oppreſſed conſtituents; but our virtual repreſentative, would neither hear our cries, ſee our oppreſſions, nor redreſs our grievances.*

LETTERS

From a FARMER *in* PENNSYLVANIA, *to the Inhabitants of the* BRITISH *Colonies.*

LETTER XI.

My dear Countrymen,

I HAVE ſeveral times, in the courſe of theſe letters, mentioned the late act of parliament, as being the *foundation* of future meaſures injurious to theſe colonies; and the belief of this truth I wiſh to prevail, becauſe I think it neceſſary to our ſafety.

A *perpetual jealouſy*, reſpecting liberty, is abſolutely requiſite in all free ſtates. The very texture of their conſtitution, in *mixt* governments, demands it. For the *cautions* with which power is *diſtributed* among the ſeveral orders, *imply*, that *each* has that ſhare which is proper for the general welfare, and therefore that any further acquiſition muſt be pernicious. * *Machiavel* employs a whole chapter in his diſcourſes, to prove that a ſtate, to be long lived, muſt be frequently corrected, and reduced to its firſt principles. But of all ſtates that have exiſted, there never was any, in which this jealouſy could be more proper than in theſe colonies. For the government here is not only *mixt* but *dependant*, which circumſtance occaſions *a peculiarity in its form*, of a very delicate nature.

Two reaſons induce me to deſire, that this ſpirit of apprehenſion may be always kept up among us, in its utmoſt vigilance. The firſt is this—that as the happineſs of theſe provinces indubitably conſiſts in their connection with *Great-Britain*, any ſeparation between them is leſs likely to be occaſioned by civil diſcords, if every diſguſting meaſure is oppoſed *ſingly*, and *while it is new*: For in this manner of proceeding, every ſuch meaſure is moſt likely to be rectified. On the other hand, oppreſſions and diſſatisfactions being permitted to accumulate—*if ever* the governed throw off the load, *they will do more*. A people does not reform with moderation. The rights of the ſubject therefore cannot be *too often* conſidered, explained or aſſerted: And whoever attempts to do this, ſhews himſelf, whatever may be the raſh and peeviſh reflections of pretended wiſdom, and pretended duty, a friend to *thoſe* who injudiciouſly exerciſe their power, as well as to *them*, over whom it is ſo exerciſed.

Had all the points of prerogative claimed by *Charles* the Firſt, been ſeparately conteſted and ſettled in preceding reigns, his fate would in all probability have been very different; and the people would have been content with that liberty which is compatible with regal authority. But † he thought, it would be as dangerous for him to give up the powers which at any time had been by uſurpation exerciſed by the crown, as thoſe that were legally veſted in it. This produced an equal exceſs on the part of the people. For when their paſſions were excited by *multiplied* grievances, they thought it would be as dangerous for them to allow the powers that were legally veſted in the crown, as thoſe which at any time had been by uſurpation exerciſed by it. Acts, that might *by themſelves* have been upon many conſiderations excuſed or extenuated, derived a contagious malignancy and odium from other acts, with which they were connected. They were not regarded according to the ſimple force of each, but as parts of a ſyſtem of oppreſſion. Every one therefore, however ſmall in itſelf, became alarming, as an additional evidence of tyrannical deſigns. It was in vain for prudent and moderate men to inſiſt, that there was no neceſſity to aboliſh royalty. Nothing leſs than the utter deſtruction of monarchy, could ſatisfy thoſe who *had* ſuffered, and thought they had reaſon to believe, they always *ſhould* ſuffer under it.

The conſequences of theſe mutual diſtruſts are well known: But there is no other people mentioned in hiſtory, that I recollect, who have been ſo conſtantly watchful of their liberty, and ſo ſucceſsful in their ſtruggles for it, as the *Engliſh*. This conſideration leads me to the ſecond reaſon, why I "deſire that the ſpirit of apprehenſion may be always kept up among us in its utmoſt vigilance."

The firſt principles of government are to be looked for in human nature. Some of the beſt writers have aſſerted, and it ſeems with

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* Machiavel's Diſcourſes—Book 3. Chap. 1.

† *The author is ſenſible, that this is putting the gentleſt conſtruction on* Charles's *conduct; and that is one reaſon why he chuſes it. Allowances ought to be made for the errors of thoſe men, who are acknowledged to have been poſſeſſed of many virtues. The education of this unhappy prince, and his confidence in men not ſo good or wiſe as himſelf, had probably* filled *him with miſtaken notions of his own authority, and of the conſequences that would attend conceſſions of any kind to a people who were repreſented to him, as aiming at too much power.*

good reason, that " government is founded on ‡ *opinion*."

CUSTOM undoubtedly has a mighty force in producing *opinion*, and reigns in nothing more arbitrarily than in public affairs. It gradually reconciles us to objects even of dread and deteſtation; and I cannot but think theſe lines of Mr. *Pope* as applicable to vice in *politics*, as to vice in *ethics*.——

" Vice is a monſter of ſo horrid mien,
" As to be hated, needs but to be ſeen;
" Yet *ſeen too oft*, familiar with her face,
" We firſt *endure*, then *pity*, then *embrace*."

When an act injurious to freedom has been *once* done, and the people *bear* it, the *repetition* of it is moſt likely to meet with *ſubmiſſion*. For as the *miſchief* of the one was found to be tolerable, they will hope that of the ſecond will prove ſo too; and they will not regard the *infamy* of the laſt, becauſe they are ſtained with that of the firſt.

Indeed nations, in general, are not apt to *think* until they *feel*; and therefore nations in general have loſt their liberty: For as violations of the rights of the *governed*, are commonly not only § *ſpecious*, but *ſmall* at the beginning, they ſpread over the multitude in ſuch a manner, as to touch individuals but ſlightly.* Thus they are diſregarded. The power or profit that ariſes from theſe violations, *centering in few perſons*, is to them conſiderable. For this reaſon the *governors* having in view their particular purpoſes, ſucceſſively preſerve an uniformity of conduct for attaining them. They regularly encreaſe and multiply the firſt injuries, till at length the inattentive people are compelled to perceive the heavineſs of their burthens.—They begin to complain and enquire—but too late. They find their oppreſſors ſo ſtrengthened by ſucceſs, and themſelves ſo entangled in examples of expreſs authority on the part of their rulers, and of tacit recognition on their own part, that they are quite confounded: For millions entertain no other idea of the *legality* of power, than that it is founded on the *exerciſe* of power. They voluntarily faſten their chains, by adopting a puſillanimous *opinion*, " that there will be too much *danger* in attempting a remedy,"—or another *opinion* no leſs fatal,—" that the government has a *right* to treat them as it does." They then ſeek a wretched relief for their minds, by perſuading themſelves, that to yield their *obedience*, is to diſcharge their *duty*. The deplorable *poverty of ſpirit*, that proſtrates all the dignity beſtowed by divine providence on our nature—*of courſe ſucceeds*.

From theſe reflections I conclude, that every free ſtate ſhould inceſſantly watch, and inſtantly take alarm on any addition being made to the power exerciſed over them. Innumerable inſtances might be produced to ſhew, from what ſlight beginnings the moſt extenſive conſequences have flowed: But I ſhall ſelect two only from the hiſtory of *England*.

Henry the Seventh was the *firſt* monarch of that kingdom, who eſtabliſhed a *ſtanding body of armed men*. This was a band of *fifty* archers, called yeomen of the guard: And this inſtitution, notwithſtanding the ſmallneſs of the number, was to prevent diſcontent, ‖ " diſguiſed under pretence of majeſty and grandeur." In 1684 the ſtanding forces were ſo much augmented, that *Rapin* ſays——"The king, in order to make his people *fully ſenſible of their new ſlavery*, affected to muſter his troops, which amounted to 4000 well armed and diſciplined men." I think our army, at this time, conſiſts of more than *ſeventy* regiments.

The method of taxing by *exciſe* was firſt introduced amidſt the convulſions of the civil wars. Extreme neceſſity was pretended, and its ſhort continuance promiſed. After the reſtoration, an exciſe upon *beer*, *ale* and *other liquors*, was granted to the † king, one half in fee, the other for life, as an equivalent for the *court of wards*. Upon *James* the Second's acceſſion, the parliament § gave him the firſt *exciſe*, with an additional duty on *wine*, *tobacco*, and ſome *other* things. Since the revolution it has been extended to ſalt, candles, leather, hides, hops, ſoap, paper, paſteboards, mill-boards, ſcale-boards, vellum, parchment, ſtarch, ſilks, callicoes, linens, ſtuffs, printed, ſtained, &c. wire, wrought plate, coffee, tea, chocolate, &c.

Thus a *ſtanding army* and *exciſe* have, from their firſt ſlender origins, tho' always *hated*, always *feared*, always *oppoſed*, at length ſwelled up to their vaſt preſent bulk.

Theſe facts are ſufficient to ſupport what I have ſaid. 'Tis true, that all the miſchiefs apprehended by our anceſtors from a *ſtanding army* and *exciſe*, have not *yet happened*: But it does not follow from thence, that they *will not happen*. The inſide of a houſe may catch fire, and the moſt valuable apartments be ruined, before the flames burſt out. The queſtion in theſe caſes is not, what evil *has actually attended* particular meaſures——but, what evil, in the nature of things, *is likely to attend* them. Certain circumſtances may for ſome time delay effects, that *were reaſonably expected*, and that *muſt enſue*. There was a long period, after the *Romans* had prorogued his command to * *Q. Publilius Philo*, before *that example* deſtroyed their liberty. All our kings, from the revolution to the preſent reign, have been *foreigners*. Their *miniſters* generally continued but a ſhort time in authority; ‖‖ and they themſelves were *mild* and *virtuous* princes.

A *bold*, *ambitious* prince, poſſeſſed of *great abilities*, firmly *fixed* in his throne *by deſcent*, ſerved by *miniſters like himſelf*, and rendered either *venerable* or *terrible* by the *glory of his ſucceſſes*, may execute what his predeceſſors did not dare to attempt. *Henry* the Fourth tottered in his ſeat during his whole reign. *Henry* the Fifth, drew the ſtrength of the kingdom into *France*, to carry on his wars there, and left the *commons* at home, *proteſting*, " that the people were not bound to ſerve out of the realm."

It is true, that a ſtrong ſpirit of liberty ſubſiſts at preſent in *Great-Britain*, but what reliance is to be placed in the *temper* of a people, when the prince is poſſeſſed of an unconſtitutional power, our own hiſtory can ſufficiently inform us. When *Charles* the Second had ſtrengthened himſelf by the return of the garriſon of *Tangier*, "*England* (ſays *Rapin*) ſaw on a ſudden an *amazing revolution*; ſaw herſelf *ſtripped of all her rights and privileges*, excepting ſuch as the king ſhould vouchſafe to grant her: And what is *more aſtoniſhing* the *Engliſh* themſelves *delivered up* theſe very rights and privileges to *Charles* the Second, which they had ſo *paſſionately*, and, if I may ſay it, *furiouſly* defended againſt the deſigns of *Charles* the Firſt." This happened only *thirty-ſix* years after this laſt prince had been beheaded.

Some perſons are of opinion, that liberty is not violated, but by ſuch *open* acts of force; but they ſeem to be greatly miſtaken. I could mention a period within theſe forty years, when almoſt as great a change of diſpoſition was produced by the *ſecret* meaſures of a *long* adminiſtration, as by *Charles's* violence. Liberty, perhaps, is never expoſed to ſo much danger, as when the people believe there is the leaſt; for it may be ſubverted, and yet they not think ſo.

Public diſguiſting acts are ſeldom practiſed by the ambitious, at the beginning of their deſigns. Such conduct *ſilences* and *diſcourages* the weak, and the wicked, who would otherwiſe have been their *advocates* or *accomplices*. It is of great conſequence, to allow thoſe who, upon any account, are inclined to favour them, ſomething ſpecious to *ſay* in their defence. Their power may be fully eſtabliſhed, tho' it would not be ſafe for them to do *whatever they pleaſe*. For there are things, which, at ſome times, even *ſlaves* will not bear. *Julius Cæſar*, and *Oliver Cromwell*, did not dare to aſſume the title of *king*. The *Grand Seignor* dares not lay a *new tax*. The king of *France* dares not be a *proteſtant*. Certain popular points may be left untouched, and yet freedom be extinguiſhed. The commonalty of *Venice* imagine themſelves free, becauſe they are permitted to do, what they ought not. But I quit a ſubject, that would lead me too far from my purpoſe.

By the late act of parliament, taxes are to be levied upon us, for " defraying the charge of the *adminiſtration of juſtice*—the ſupport of *civil government*—and the expences of *defending* his Majeſty's dominions in *America*."

If any man doubts what ought to be the conduct of theſe colonies on this occaſion, I would aſk him theſe queſtions.

Has not the parliament *expreſly avowed* their *intention* of raiſing money from us *for certain purpoſes?* Is not this ſcheme *popular* in *Great-Britain?* Will the taxes, impoſed by the late act, *anſwer thoſe purpoſes?* If it will, muſt it not take an *immenſe ſum* from us? If it will not, *is it to be expected*, that the parliament will not *fully execute* their *intention* when it is pleaſing at home, *and not oppoſed here?* Muſt not this be done by impoſing *new taxes?* Will not every addition, thus made to our taxes, be an addition to the power of the *Britiſh* legiſlature, *by increaſing the number of officers* employed in the collection? Will not every additional tax therefore render it *more difficult* to abrogate any of them? When a branch of revenue is once eſtabliſhed, does it not appear to many people *invidious* and *undutiful*, to attempt to aboliſh it? If taxes, ſufficient to *accompliſh the intention* of the parliament, are impoſed by the parliament, *what taxes will remain* to be impoſed by our aſſemblies? If *no material taxes remain* to be impoſed by them, what muſt become of *them*, and the *people* they repreſent?

* " If any perſon conſiders theſe things, and yet thinks our liberties are in no danger, I wonder at that perſon's ſecurity."

One other argument is to be added, which, by itſelf I hope, will be ſufficient to convince the moſt incredulous man on this continent, that the late act of parliament is *only* deſigned to be a *precedent*, whereon the future vaſſalage of theſe colonies may be eſtabliſhed.

Every duty thereby laid on articles of *Britiſh* manufacture, is laid on ſome commodity, upon the exportation of which from *Great-Britain* a *drawback* is payable. Thoſe *drawbacks*, in moſt of the articles, are *exactly double* to the *duties* given by the late act. The parliament therefore might, in *half a dozen lines*, have raiſed *much more money*, only by *ſtopping the drawbacks* in the hands of the officers at home, on exportation to theſe colonies, than by this ſolemn impoſition of taxes upon us, to be collected here. Probably, the artful contrivers of this act formed it in this manner, in order to reſerve to themſelves, in caſe of any objections being made to it, this ſpecious pretence——" that the drawbacks are gifts to the colonies, and that the late act only leſſens thoſe gifts." But the truth is, that the drawbacks are intended for the encouragement and promotion of *Britiſh* manufactures and commerce, and are allowed on exportation to *any foreign parts*, as well as on exportation to theſe provinces. Beſides, care has been taken to ſlide into the act, ¶ ſome articles on which there are no drawbacks. However, the *whole duties* laid by the late act on *all* the articles therein ſpecified are *ſo ſmall*, that they will not amount to *as much* as the *drawbacks* which are allowed on *part* of them only. If therefore, *the ſum to be obtained by the late act*, had been the *ſole object* in forming it, there would not have been any occaſion for " the *commons* of *Great-Britain*, to *give* and *grant* to his Majeſty *rates* and *duties* for *raiſing a revenue in his Majeſty's dominions in* America, for making a more certain and adequate proviſion for defraying the charges of the adminiſtration of juſtice, the ſupport of civil government, and the expence of defending the ſaid dominions;"—Nor would there have been any occaſion for an § expenſive board of Commiſſioners, and all the other new charges to which we are made liable.

Upon the whole, for my part, I regard the late act as an *experiment made of our diſpoſition*. It is a bird ſent out over the waters, to diſcover, whether the waves, that lately agitated this part of the world with ſuch violence, are yet *ſubſided*. If *this adventurer* gets footing here, we ſhall ſoon be convinced, that it is not a *phœnix*; for we ſhall quickly ſee it followed by *others of the ſame kind*. We ſhall find it rather to be of the † breed deſcribed by the poet,——

" *Infelix vates.*"

A direful foreteller of future calamities.

A FARMER.

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‡ " Opinion *is of two kinds*, viz. opinion *of* intereſt, *and* opinion *of* right. *By* opinion *of* intereſt, *I chiefly underſtand*, the ſenſe of the public advantage which is reaped from government; *together with the perſuaſion, that the particular government which is eſtabliſhed, is* equally advantageous *with any other*, that could be eaſily ſettled."

" Right *is of two kinds*, right *to* power, *and* right *to* property. *What prevalence* opinion *of the firſt kind has over mankind, may eaſily be underſtood, by obſerving the attachment which all nations have to their antient government, and even to thoſe names which have had the ſanction of antiquity.* Antiquity always begets the opinion of right."——" *It is ſufficiently underſtood, that the* opinion *of* right *to* property, *is of the greateſt moment in all matters of government.*" Hume's Eſſays.

§ *Omnia mala exempla ex bonis initiis orta ſunt.* SALLUST. Bell. Cat. S. 50.

* " *The* republick *is always* attacked *with greater vigor, than it is* defended: *For the* audacious *and* profligate, *prompted by their natural enmity to it, are* eaſily impelled *to act by the* leaſt nod *of their* leaders: *Whereas the* honeſt, *I know not why, are generally* ſlow *and* unwilling *to ſtir; and* neglecting *always the* beginnings of things, *are* never rouſed *to exert themſelves, but by the* laſt neceſſity: *So that through* irreſolution *and* delay, *when they would be glad to compound at laſt for their* quiet, *at the expence even of their* honor, *they* commonly loſe them both."
Cicero's Orat. for Sextius.

Such were the ſentiments of this great and excellent man, whoſe vaſt abilities, and the calamities of his country during his time, enabled him, by mournful experience, to form a juſt judgment on the conduct of the friends and enemies of liberty.

‖ Rapin's *hiſtory of* England.

† 12 Car. II. *Chap.* 23 *and* 24.

§ 1 James II. *Chap.* 1 *and* 4.

* *In the year of the city* 428, " *Duo ſingularia hæc ei viro primum contigere; prorogatio imperii non ante in ullo facta, et acto honore triumphus.*" Liv. B. 8. Chap. 23. 26.

" *Had the reſt of the* Roman *citizens imitated the example of* L. Quintius, *who refuſed to have his conſulſhip continued to him, they had never admitted that cuſtom of proroguing of magiſtrates, and then the prolongation of their commands in the army had never been introduced,* which very thing was at length the ruin of that commonwealth." Machiavel's Diſcourſes, B. 3. Chap. 24.

‖‖ *I dont know but it may be ſaid, with a good deal of reaſon, that a quick rotation of miniſters is very deſirable in* Great-Britain. *A miniſter there has a vaſt ſtore of materials to work with.* Long adminiſtrations *are rather favourable to the* reputation *of a people abroad, than to their* liberty.

¶ *Tho' duties by the late act are laid on ſome articles, on which no drawbacks are allowed, yet the duties impoſed by the act are ſo ſmall, in compariſon with the drawbacks that* are *allowed, that* all the duties together *will not amount to* ſo much *as the* drawbacks.

§ *The expence of this board, I am informed, is between four and five thouſand pounds ſterling a year. The eſtabliſhment of officers, for collecting the revenue in* America, *amounted before to ſeven thouſand ſix hundred pounds* per annum; *and yet, ſays the author of* " *the regulation of the colonies,*" " *the whole remittance from* all *the taxes in the colonies, at an average of* thirty years, *has not amounted to one thouſand nine hundred pounds a year, and in that ſum ſeven or eight hundred pounds* per annum *only, have been remitted from* North-America."

The ſmallneſs of the revenue ariſing from the duties in America *demonſtrates that they were intended only as* regulations of trade: *And can any perſon be ſo blind to truth, ſo dull of apprehenſion in a matter of unſpeakable importance to his country, as to imagine, that the board of commiſſioners lately eſtabliſhed at ſuch a charge, is inſtituted to aſſiſt in collecting one thouſand nine hundred pounds a year, or the trifling duties impoſed by the late act? Surely every man on this continent muſt perceive, that they are eſtabliſhed for the care of a* new ſyſtem of revenue, *which it but now begun.*

† " *Diracælæno,*" &c. Virgil, Æneid 3.

To Mr. RIND:

SIR,

IT is abſolutely neceſſary for the ſupport of liberty in all free governments, frequently to rouze the ſpirit of the people, to curb the ambition of thoſe who act in oppoſition to it; and to this end, nothing can be more effectual than the free exerciſe of the LIBERTY of the PRESS. It is from hence, that the preſs, in a great meaſure, derives its utility to a government; and that the free uſe of it is deemed an invaluable privilege.

We are not here to conſider ambition in the light that TACITUS ſpeaks of it. It is not *that ambition* which prompts ingenious ſpirits to acquire fame, and ſtimulates noble minds to acts of virtue and glorious deeds of honour: But it is that which ariſes in the minds of men who ſtifle the clamours of conſcience, and ſtart no fears to diſturb their ſoft hours; whoſe intereſt alone is made the meaſure of their actions: It is that by which thoſe men are actuated who deſpiſe fame and reputation as idle things, mere bubbles raiſed to frighten fools from the purſuit of their intereſts; and who diſregard what may be ſaid of them, either now, or hereafter: In ſhort, it is that which enters into the compoſition of a man who is never concerned at any thing he does, ſo he be above the reach of puniſhment; but will ſacrifice the *liberty* of his fellow ſubjects, and ſtick at no wickedneſs with a proſpect of profit and eaſe to himſelf. It is this *ambition* which is curbed by the reſentment of the people; which is incompatible with liberty; and requires an exertion of abilities to keep within bounds: For, avarice being the principle from which it takes its riſe, its conſequences will ever be pernicious, as there is no vice ſo irreclaimable as that, nor any ſo deſtructive of liberty. The avaricious man, is, therefore, juſtly marked as the enemy of ſociety, governed wholly by ſelf-intereſted motives, deſtitute of virtue, and unaffected by infamy. Incapable of great and heroic actions, he miſtakes his cowardice for prudence. He is a fawning ſycophant to men in power, the abject ſlave of tyranny, who ſtamps *treaſon* upon every ſentiment of liberty uttered with a generous freedom and intrepidity of public ſpirit. He denies the exiſtence of *public virtue* independent of *ſelf*, becauſe he never felt the paſſion of love for his country. But, as the antagoniſt of that philoſopher who denied the being of motion, turned his back upon the abſurdity, ſo let us treat the ſtupid inſenſibility of ſuch a man with a contempt that the inactivity of his froſty ſoul deſerves. If there be ſuch an one among us,——*Hic niger eſt; hunc tu Romane caveto.* He has no virtue, who ſtands by and calmly looks on the ſufferings of a man injured in the cauſe of freedom, and offers not his aſſiſtance: Nor does he deſerve the name of *man* who durſt not deſpiſe *power* when oppoſed to *liberty*.

Far be it from me to have any intention of encouraging a licentious conduct. But I am bold to aſſert, that there are ſome occaſions, on which the *people* have a right to aſſemble, and reſiſt tyranny and oppreſſion; to ſtigmatize and puniſh the wretch, who ſhall, by word or action, diſcover himſelf to be an enemy of their liberty. It was on this principle that the *ſons of liberty* acted during the *ſtamp-act*, whoſe conduct I ſhall ever defend; but which, however, did not eſcape the cenſure of *thoſe* who are content to be ſaddled themſelves, provided they may ride others, under the chief rider.

CICERO, I remember, ſays, that the deſires of a free people never tend to the ſubverſion of liberty; and that their diſcontents proceed either from actual oppreſſion, or from ſome danger, which they foreſee, of falling into it. And, I ſhall not ſcruple to maintain, that even virtue, good diſcipline and good fortune, which were the cauſes of the *Roman* grandeur, proceeded from the *tumults* that aroſe in the city of *Rome*

It was, indeed, peculiar to the *Romans*, to purſue this method of venting their diſcontents; and letting their ſuperiors know wherein they diſliked their proceedings. And, it produced an admirable effect: It kept the great *ones* in awe of the *people's* reſentment, and hindered them from proceeding in any *arbitrary* manner: For, all theſe commotions were occaſioned by ſome *incroachments*, which were attempted by them againſt the *liberty* of the people.

It is not to be denied, indeed, but that the *people* may be *deceived* in their *opinions* of things; but when that happens, there is nothing more eaſy than to ſet them right: For, they have a capacity of comprehending truth, they love it, and willingly ſubmit to it. It is on this very ſubject, that a learned politician has juſtly obſerved, that good examples proceed from good education, good education from good laws, and good laws from theſe very tumults which ſome take upon them without judgment to condemn.

Give me leave, my countrymen, to add another obſervation, worthy the remembrance of every *ſon of liberty*; which is, that *the ſecurity of property, and the freedom of ſpeech, always go together in free governments: And, that to do public miſchief;*

without hearing of it, is only the prerogative and felicity of tyranny.

Good counſel is caſt away upon the arrogant, the ſelf-conceited, or the ſtupid, who are either too proud to take it, or too heavy to underſtand it. Hence it is, that we will not believe the danger of things till the evil is come upon us.

Had the arguments which I have here touched on, been uſed upon a *late trial*, I very much doubt, whether I ſhould have had any occaſion to write on this ſubject. I am, indeed, apprehenſive that I ſhould have had none: As I am willing to hope, that thoſe, who have contributed to the puniſhment of a *ſon of liberty*, being forewarned of the danger of ſo ill a precedent, would have become ſenſible of the folly of ſpreading a net, in which they themſelves may be taken. It is, however, much more to be hoped, that there are few men in the colony, who have not a juſter ſenſe of the value of *liberty*, than thoſe who have ſo ingloriouſly acknowledged their diſpoſition for *ſlavery*. But we have abundant reaſon to exclaim with CICERO: *O tempora! O mores!*

If it be thought by any, that I have ſpoken with too much liberty; and that I have ſaid any thing applicable to the *conduct* or *characters* of any *perſons* in *this country*; let them remember that I make no application.——*Qui capit, ille facit.*

Thus, Mr. RIND, have I offered, through you, my ſentiments to the public, upon an occaſion, which, I conceive to be an intereſting one, inaſmuch as it damps the ſpirit of liberty, which I think ſhould now generally prevail; and it is with pleaſure, that I find there are many worthy friends of liberty, who ſhow a proper diſlike of it, by chearfully ſubſcribing what follows. "*In teſtimony of our entire approbation of the virtuous and manly ſpirit with which Mr.* John Seayres, *of* Eſſex *county, reſented the contumacious and vicious behaviour of* Archibald M'Call, *in refuſing to join the general joy of* Virginia, *on the* repeal *of that moſt* arbitrary, unjuſt *and* tyrannical act *for impoſing* ſtamp-duties *in* America; *and utterly abhorring all principles, by which he may be injured for having ſo acted: We agree, moſt willingly, to pay the ſum of money by each of us ſubſcribed, to Mr.* Seayres, *or to his order, on demand*; *thereby, to prevent the bad conſequences of a* late judgment *obtained againſt him*; *and alſo, to evince our attachment to the cauſe of liberty, by ſupporting its generous aſſertors.*"

I am, Sir,

Your moſt humble Servant,

A LOVER OF MY COUNTRY.

PORTSMOUTH, *New-Hampſhire*, Feb. 12.

Laſt Friday departed this life, and laſt Lord's-day evening was decently interred, Mr. John Abbot of this town, aged ninety-two years, who enjoyed remarkable health till a little before his death----but what is more remarkable, is, the number of ſouls which have proceeded from him, being 11 children----ſixty-two grand children---forty-ſeven great grand children----in all one hundred and twenty, moſt of them now living in this town.

BOSTON, *Feb.* 15.

It is ſaid that the Houſe of Repreſentatives, now ſitting in General Aſſembly, have preferred a humble, dutiful and loyal petition to the King, imploring his Majeſty's gracious protection of their conſtitutional and charter rights, which are thought to be infringed by ſeveral acts, impoſing duties to be levied on their conſtituents, without their conſent in Parliament: And that they have forwarded letters to the Right Honourable the Lords S——n, R——n, C——n, C——n, and to Mr. Secretary C——y, &c. repreſenting the grievances, and earneſtly intreating their aid and patronage: It is moreover added, that their committee have reported a letter, which is accepted by the Houſe, directed to the ſeveral Houſes of Repreſentatives and Burgeſſes on the continent; communicating, in decent terms, their ſentiments and proceedings, on this common concern. And to prevent the enemies of the colonies miſrepreſenting this meaſure, we are informed, the Houſe has ordered a copy of the laſt mentioned letter to be tranſmitted to Mr. De Bert, to be by him produced as neceſſity may require. It is further ſaid, that for the ſake of cultivating, as far as lies in their power, a harmony in the General Aſſembly, a committee from the Houſe waited on the Governor of the province, to acquaint him, that the Houſe was ready to lay before his Excellency their whole proceedings in this important affair, if he deſired it: Which committee was directed humbly to requeſt his Excellency, that he would be pleaſed to favour the Houſe with a copy of a letter from Lord Shelburne, which had been read in the Houſe by the Governor's order; and alſo copies of his own letters to which it referred. We are aſſured, that while the Houſe have been ſetting forth the unſpeakable grievance of ſubjects being taxed unrepreſented, the greateſt care has been taken to ſhew, that an equal repreſentation of this province in the Britiſh Parliament is utterly impoſſible.

PHILADELPHIA, *Feb.* 25.

Extract of a letter from a correſpondent in London, dated December 1, 1767.

"Mr. G——le's enmity againſt the colonies ſtill continues as violent as ever.—When the debate on the King's ſpeech happened, he tired even his friends with a tedious harangue againſt America. Laſt Friday he produced a Boſton Gazette, which he ſaid denied the legiſlative authority of Great-Britain, and was treaſonable, rebellious, &c. and moved it might be read, and that the houſe would take notice of it—but it being moved, on the other hand, that the conſideration of it ſhould be poſtponed for ſix months—it was carried without a diviſion. And, as it was known that this Parliament will expire before that time, it was equivalent to a total rejection of the motion.—The D—— of B——d moved in vain for the conſideration of the ſame paper in the Houſe of Lords. Theſe are favourable ſymptoms of the preſent diſpoſition of Parliament towards America, which I hope no conduct of the Americans will give juſt cauſe of altering."

Extract of a letter from London, December 14, 1767.

"We are all very quiet here at preſent. The Parliament are going on with the uſual buſineſs, with very little interruption from the oppoſition, which are by no means united. George Grenville having, on the firſt day of the ſeſſion, and again a few days afterwards, ineffectually tried to enflame the Houſe againſt North-America, by offering to their peruſal a paper in the Boſton Gazette, which he ſaid contained many treaſonable expreſſions; and having likewiſe found that the Rockingham party never meant to join with him, but had been making a cat's paw of him all this while, intends, for the preſent, to lye by, and wait ſome future opportunity to embroil matters, till he himſelf gets into power again, the ſole object, you know, of all oppoſers: And this, I have reaſon to believe, he will find a difficult matter, as he is really as unpopular here, as he muſt be with you. In the mean time, however, a few changes in the preſent miniſtry will certainly take place in a few days. Lord Gower comes in, in the room of Lord Shelburne; Mr. Rigby alſo, and ſome others of the Duke of Bedford's friends, are to be taken in, which will render the preſent ſet more ſtrong and permanent, and enable them to go on with more courage.

"Wilkes has been once more endeavouring to eſtabliſh himſelf here, and came over incog. ſome weeks ago, to ſee if he could procure a reverſe of his outlawry, and even tried (miſtaken folly!) to offer himſelf a candidate for the city of London, againſt the next General Election. But having ſoon diſcovered his miſtake and juſtly dreading his private creditors, he ſet out once more for France laſt Sunday morning.

"Some of the changes, I have heard juſt now, are to be as follows. Lord Sandwich, Secretary of State, in the room of Lord Shelburne. Lord Gower, Lord Chamberlain. Mr. Rigby, Paymaſter.

"The Parliament have again reſumed the conſideration of the affairs of the Eaſt-India company, which will terminate, it is very likely, in a reſtriction of their dividends to 10 per cent. for ſome time longer, till they have paid off great part of their debts, and made a ſuitable compoſition with government. Beſides this, nothing very material is likely to come before them this ſeſſion, the ſcarcity and dearneſs of proviſions only excepted. In this, it is moſt difficul to do any thing to purpoſe. What the opening our ports for every ſort of eatables, duty free, for a year certain, and from all quarters, will do, muſt ſoon be ſeen; for that will certainly take place. This may poſſibly be of uſe to our brethren in America, as I ſuppoſe they can ſpare us a good deal of corn, and will come ſeaſonably enough, as a good medium for remittances; but whether it will have any great effect with us, to cure the evil complained of, I very much queſtion."

P. S. *December* 19. "Nothing hath occurred, ſince writing the above, worth notice. The changes mentioned have not taken place; for what reaſon is not certainly known. Some ſay, that Lord Chatham, who is either coming, or come to town, objects to their turning out Lord Shelburne, and propoſes, once more, to take upon him the guidance of ſtate."

WILLIAMSBURG, *March* 24.

The Induſtry, Captain Latimer, from Barbados, and the Donald, Captain Andrew, from Glaſgow, are arrived in James river. The former, about midway on his paſſage, was ſtruck by a whale, which broke one of his outſide planks, bent an inſide one, and ſhook the veſſel ſo violently, that the crew were greatly alarmed.

On Thurſday next the theatre here will be opened.

[redacted]

Committed to the public gaol in this city, on the 15th inſt. *Dennis Linch*, alias *John Linch*, for horſe ſtealing. And on the 21ſt, *William Jones*, alias *Richard Chapman*, from *Suſſex*, for felony.

[redacted]

PETERSBURG, *March* 18, 1768.

THE Subſcriber intending for *England* in *May* next, requeſts all perſons indebted to *Rumbold*, *Walker*, and *Tabb*, to make payment at or before the enſuing *April* General Court. He hopes thoſe it may concern, will ſo far regard this notice, as to prevent farther trouble, which will much oblige

JOHN TABB.

NORFOLK, *March* 15, 1768.

To be SOLD *by the Executors of* JOSHUA NICHOLSON, *on the* 2*d day of* April *next*,

A WELL built new SNOW, carpenters and out ſide joiners work compleatly finiſhed; fifty-one feet keel, twenty-one feet beam, nine feet clear in the lower hold, three and a half clear between decks.—Two hundred pounds of the money to be paid down, or bond and ſecurity, with intereſt from the day of ſale; the other part on bond and ſecurity, in twelve months, without intereſt.

JAMES NICHOLSON,
WILLIAM NICHOLSON,
MATTHEW GODFREY,
DANIEL HUTCHINGS, } executors.

NORFOLK, *March* 15, 1768.

THE ſubſcriber being under the diſagreeable neceſſity of going to *England*, to look after a ſum of money due me, I take this method of acquainting all thoſe that have any demands againſt me, that I have made over my whole eſtate, in truſt, to gentlemen, to be ſold for the benefit of my creditors, ſhould I be ſo unfortunate as not to recover the ſum owing me in *London*; for which place I propoſe to leave this colony, early next month. WILLIAM BRADLEY.

To be run for at AQUIA, *on the* 1*ſt* Thurſday *in* May *next*,

A PURSE of twenty-five pounds, by any horſe, mare, or gelding. Horſes of fourteen hands high, to carry nine ſtone; to ſize above and below, ſeven pounds for every inch; two mile heats, the beſt two heats in three. Horſes deſigned to run, to be entered at Mr. *Yelverton Peyton*'s the day before the race, and meaſured by a gentleman choſen for the purpoſe. A ſubſcriber to pay twenty ſhillings entrance, a non-ſubſcriber to pay three pounds. The entrance money to be for the ſecond beſt horſe. There are gentlemen appointed truſtees, that will pay the money at the ſtake, to the winning horſe; and alſo to decide diſputes, in caſe any ariſe.

The ENGLISH *Horſe*

ARISTOTLE,

FIFTEEN hands two inches high, ſtands this ſeaſon at Mr. *Benjamin Binum*'s, in the lower end of *Brunſwick* county, to cover mares at twenty ſhillings the leap, or three pounds the ſeaſon, ready money. Good paſturage for mares gratis.

Ariſtotle was got by the Cullen Arabian, his dam by Crab, his grandam by Hobgoblin, his great grandam by the Godolphin Arabian, his great great grandam was a famous mare called White Cheeks.

LITTLEBURY HARDYMAN.

PARTNER

STANDS at my Plantation, in *Brunſwick*, two miles from the court-houſe, and will cover mares at twenty ſhillings the leap, three pounds the ſeaſon, or five ponnds to enſure a foal. The money to be paid when the mares are taken away. Thoſe who take ſingle leaps pay at the ſtable door. Good paſturage for mares gratis. I will take the beſt care poſſible of them; but will not be accountable for any that may get away.

ARMISTEAD LIGHTFOOT.

Thoſe gentlemen who did not ſettle for their mares laſt year, are deſired to account with my Overſeer, *Thomas Goldſon*, who will give proper diſcharges for any money paid him. A. L.

I HAVE BOATS for the uſe of my ferry equal to any in the Government, and can give greater diſpatch than any Ferry-keeper upon *Potomack* river, except Capt. Laidler; I will venture to affirm that I can ſet over twenty horſes and three carriages in an hour. GERARD HOOE.

YORK, March 15, 1768.

AS I intend to leave this colony early in the Summer, I requeſt the favour of all perſons indebted to me, to come and ſettle their accounts, on or before the 10th day of *June* next; otherwiſe they will be put into the hands of an Attorney. I have for ſale on ſix months credit, the houſe, with two lots, whereon I now live, with all convenient out-houſes, in very good repair, the whole being newly paled in. Likewiſe a very neat ſingle chair, and two very good horſes that will go in a chair, and are very good ſaddle horſes. Any perſon inclinable to purchaſe any of the above articles, may know the terms by applying to the ſubſcriber.

JOHN CENTER.

To be SOLD *on twelve months credit, by virtue of a deed of truſt made us by Mr.* ROBERT HUTCHINGS, *in* DINWIDDIE *county*,

SUNDRY tracts of LAND. One hundred and fifty acres of land in *Mecklenburg* county, near *Royſter*'s ferry, on the South ſide of *Roanoke* river, alſo four hundred acres of land contiguous to the above land, on *Tueſday* the 12th day of *April* next. Four hundred acres of land on *Juniper* creek, in *Lunenburg* county, on *Friday* the 15th day of *April* next. One hundred and fifty acres of land on *Cox*'s road, about twenty miles from *Peterſburg*, whereon Mr. *Hutchings* formerly lived, alſo one hundred and fifty acres, alſo one hundred acres of land on the ſame road, about a mile higher up, whereon the ſaid *Robert Hutchings* now lives, known by the name of *Wynne*'s Ordinary, on *Tueſday* the 19th day of *April* next. Each tract of land to be ſold on the premiſes on the day of ſale.

DUNCAN ROSE,
JOHN JENNINGS, } Truſtees.

RAN away from the ſubſcriber, living in *Dinwiddie* county, about three years ago, a likely *Virginia* born Negro man named HARRY, who formerly belonged to the eſtate of *Nathaniel Crawley*, that lived in a place called *Indianfield*, in *York* county; and was taken by execution, and ſold at public ſale, when purchaſed by me. He is a low ſquat well made fellow, about 24 or 25 years of age, but no particular marks, more than that he is thick lipped. As to his cloaths he had on when he went away, it is imagined are worn out, or changed. He was taken up laſt *May* was twelve months, and delivered to me in *Williamſburg*, but made his eſcape in a few hours. It is ſuſpected he is now lying lurking about in the neighbourhood where he formerly lived, if not concealed by ſome perſon thereabouts. Therefore I do hereby forewarn all perſons from entertaining or harbouring the ſaid Negro one hour, for if it can be proved it is done by any perſon whatever, they may depend I will go to the very rigour of the law. I alſo forewarn all Captains or Maſters of veſſels from carrying him out of the colony. And do alſo offer a reward of 50*ſ.* to any perſon that will apprehend the ſaid Negro fellow, and deliver him to Capt. *Edward Power*, on *Queen's* creek, in *York* county; or five pounds, if delivered to me in the ſaid county of *Dinwiddie*.

HENRY BRODNAX.

N. B. The ſaid fellow is a fair ſpoken, deceiving, ſlippery chap.

RUN away from the ſubſcriber in *Orange* county, *Virginia*, the 31ſt of *December*, 1767, a ſervant man named THOMAS WISE, about 25 years old, about 5 feet 6 or 7 inches high, had on when he went away, a ſagathy coat of a lightiſh colour, with metal buttons waſhed with ſilver, and lined with linen; a dark kerſey waiſtoat lined with plaid, and metal buttons; one white ſhirt, one oznabrigs do. He is a man of a fair complexion with reddiſh hair. He ſtole when he run away, a blue German ſerge waiſtcoat, with metal buttons, and a *Virginia* cloth do. without ſleeves, alſo a Dutch gun ſquare up the barrel about a foot, the ſtock has been cut for a bayonet; alſo a tin kettle that would hold about a gallon. He ſays that he is a *Yorkſhireman* born, and talks broad. Any perſon that apprehends the ſaid ſervant, and ſecures him in any gaol in this colony, ſo as I may get him, ſhall have forty ſhillings reward, and if in any other province four pounds, paid by

JAMES MAGINESS.

TAKEN up on *Ellis*'s Fork, in *Amelia* county, a ſorrel MARE, about 4 feet 5 inches high, with a large blaze in her face, and ſome ſaddle ſpots, branded on the near buttock with five diamonds in a piece; alſo a bay colt with a large blaze in his face, neither dock'd nor branded, his hind feet white, and is ſuppoſed to be a foal of the ſaid mare. Poſted and appraiſed, the mare to 31. and the colt to 21. 5s. WILLIAM HURT.

Fredericksburg, March 9, 1768.

THE partnerſhip of *Iſaac Heſlop*, and company, being diſſolved, all perſons who have any demands againſt them, are deſired to apply to *Iſaac Heſlop* for payment; and thoſe who are indebted to the ſaid partnerſhip, are requeſted to come and ſettle their accounts with him, to whom all the debts are now aſſigned.

ISAAC HESLOP, and company.

Fredericksburg, March 9, 1768.

I INTEND to leave this colony ſoon, for a few months; therefore deſire that all perſons indebted to me, will be ſpeedy in making payment. It is expected that thoſe who cannot fully diſcharge, will ſettle, and give bond for their balances. The buſineſs will be carried on as uſual in my abſence.

ISAAC HESLOP.

Fredericksburg, March 4, 1768.

ALL perſons having had dealings with *Lenox*, *Scott*, and company, at their ſtore lately kept in the town of *Fredericksburg*, or elſewhere, are deſired to take notice, that Mr. *James Somervell*, of the ſaid town of *Fredericksburg*, is duly authorized and impowered to ſettle all the ſaid company's accounts, and to receive all debts due to them.

JOHN MITCHELL.

Fredericksburg, March 4, 1768.

ALL perſons indebted to *Lenox*, *Scott*, and company, are deſired to take notice, that every debtor who ſhall fail to come and ſettle their accounts before the firſt day of *June* next, will be immediately dealt with according to law, without reſpect to any perſon or perſons whatſoever.

JAMES SOMERVELL.

A SCHEME *of a* LOTTERY,

for diſpoſing of three CHAIRS, *and other articles, belonging to the ſubſcriber.*

The PRIZES.

A COMPLEAT double ſhaft chair with compleat harneſs,	32-10.
A compleat ſingle do. with do.	25-00.
A compleat do. with do. - -	25-00.
A good three ſtrand twine ſeine, 40 fathom long, with good ¼ rope to haul, - - - - - - - -	12-00.
A compleat walnut deſk nicely mounted, - - - - - - - -	7-00.
A ſilver watch in good order, -	6-00.
A compleat new boat well fixed with ſails and oars, - - -	5-00.
A compleat cheſt of drawers nicely mounted, - - - - -	5-10.
A compleat folding walnut table 4 feet long, - - - - - -	2-00.
£.	120-00.

Six caſh prizes, to be paid out of the above prizes as followeth, viz.

One to be paid by the perſon that draws the double chair, to the perſon that draws the 5th blank,	7-10.
One to be paid by the perſon that draws the firſt ſingle chair, to the 10th blank, - - - - -	5-00.
One to be paid by the perſon that draws the 2d ſingle chair, to the 15th blank, - - - - -	5-00.
One to be paid by the perſon that draws the ſeine, to the 20th blank, - - - - - - - -	3-00
One to be paid by the perſon that draws the deſk, to the 25th blank - - - - - - - -	1-10.
One to be paid by the perſon that draws the watch, to the laſt blank, - - - - - - - -	1- 5.

15 Prizes.
81 Blanks.

96 Tickets, at 25*ſ*. - £. 120-0-0.

The above lottery is to be drawn at Mr. *George Chowning*'s ordinary, in *Middleſex* county, the 3d *Friday* in *December* next. The managers are Major *Robert Daniel*, Capt. *George Daniel*, Mr. *Thomas Kemp*, and Mr. *Auguſtine Carter*, or any three of them, of whom tickets may be had, or of the ſubſcriber.

SAMUEL DANIEL.

N. B. The money is to be paid before the ſaid lottery is drawn, and all the articles to be preſent at the day. S. D.

COLLEGE, *March* 12, 1768.

THE next meeting of the ſubſcribers to the fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of Clergymen, will be held at the College on the laſt day of *April*. The officers of this ſociety for

[redacted]

advertiſed the ſeventh of this inſtant at the *Rocky Ridge*: This is to give notice, that there will be twenty likely *Virginia* born

SLAVES

ſold at the ſame place, on Tueſday the 12th of *April* next, if fair, if not, the next fair day; one half the purchaſe money to be paid at the *Oyer* court in *June* next; credit for the remainder until the firſt day of *May* 1769. Bonds, with approved ſecurity, will be required.

Maryland, February 28, 1768.

To be SOLD *by the Subſcriber, to the higheſt bidder, at* Fauquier *court-houſe, in the colony of* Virginia, *on* Thurſday *the 28th of* April *next, if fair, if not, the next fair day after,*

SEVERAL parcels of land, lying in the ſaid county, *to wit*, the plantation on which Mr. *George Lamkin* lately dwelt, about 6 miles above the ſaid court-houſe, containing 100 acres, conveniently ſituated for an inn. Five hundred acres near *Gooſe* creek, being the tract on which *Thomas Furr*, and ſeveral other tenants, now live. This land is level, well watered, wooded, and proper either for farming or planting, and on it are ſeveral ſmall orchards. The other contains 292 acres, and lies in the fork of *Gooſe* creek and *Chattin* run (and very near to the tracts of 500 acres): On this a ſmall plantation is cleared, ſome houſes built, about 30 acres of meadow ground ready for laying down with graſs ſeed, and about as much more to clear; 300 apple, a few peach, cherry, and apricot trees, are planted out, and a griſt mill lately erected. Theſe lands were advertiſed to have been ſold the 21ſt of *December* laſt; but the weather proving bad, prevented it. Should any perſon incline to treat for the whole before the day of ſale, they may do it at *Port-Tobacco* with DANIEL JENIFER.

THE ſubſcriber hereby informs his friends and the public, that Gentlemen may be provided with good lodgings for themſelves, and good ſtables for their horſes, at his houſe, fronting the play houſe. WILLIAM PAGE.

N. B. Thoſe who are indebted to him, by bond, note, or otherwiſe, are to take notice, that if they do not pay before the 20th of next month, their accounts, &c. will be put into the hands of an attorney.

DECEMBER 8, 1767.

COMMITTED to the gaol of *Lancaſter* county, a new Negro man named JAMES, who ſays that he is a free man, and will not own that he has any maſter; he appears to have been in the country ſome years, and has paſt as a freeman ſeveral months before he was taken up; he is a ſlender fellow, with a round face, grey headed, much ſcarr'd on his back and breaſt by whipping; has had holes in his ears, talks bad *Engliſh*, and is about 45 or 50 years of age; he ſays that he came from *Philadelphia*; had on when committed, a blue half thick waiſtcoat and breeches, oſnabrigs ſhirt, country made ſhoes, and hoſe. The owner may have him again, paying fees, and the charge of advertiſing, as the law directs.

ROBERT HENING, jun. Gaol r.

For Ready Caſh,

To be SOLD *in conſequence of a Decree of* GLOUCESTER *county Court, on the* 1ſt Thurſday *in the next month, at* Glouceſter *Court-houſe,*

ABOUT 700 acres of valuable land, which was the property of the late Doctor *John Symmer*, deceaſed, lying in *Kingſton* pariſh, in *Glouceſter* county, near the head of *North* River, on which is a great deal of good timber, both oak and pine. The ſaid land will be ſold altogether, or in parcels, as will beſt ſuit the purchaſers.

Freſh imported, in the ſhip Lord Cambden, *from* LONDON,

AN Aſſortment of PEASE, BEANS and ſeeds, *&c.* ſold by WILLIAM WILLS, CHIRURGEON, in *Richmond* Town, and JOHN DONLEVY, in *Peterſburg*.

PEASE,	Spinage Summer and Winter.
Early Golden Hotſpur.	
Early charlton.	Corn ſallad.
Ormeret hotſpur.	Red and white bete.
Large blue and white rouncevals.	Celery, Italian and Engliſh.
Spaniſh Marrotoes.	
Large marrowfats.	
Nonpareils.	Endive, green and white.
Bunch.	
Sugar blues.	
Dutch Admirals.	Creſſes, garden and water.
Sallatine.	
BEANS.	LETTUCE.
Early maſſagon.	Sileſia.
Early Liſbon.	Cabbage.
Broad Windſor.	Brown Dutch.
Sandwich.	Capuchin.
Tokers.	White coſs.
Long kids.	
White bloſſoms.	
Long podded.	
Kidney beans of all colours.	White onion.
CABBAGE.	Red onion.
Sugar loaf.	Scarlet radiſh.
Batterſea.	Salmon radiſh.
Ruſſia.	Naſturtium.
Savoy.	Parſley.
Early Dutch.	
Early Yorkſhire.	Turnip.
Red.	Red ring.
Winter.	Summer.
Colliflower.	White round.
Colliflower broccoli.	
Broccoli.	
Green, white & yellow broccoli.	London leek.
	Parſnip.

Tappahannock, March 5, 1768.

ON *Tueſday* night the 1ſt inſt. broke adrift from a ſchooner belonging to the ſubſcriber, coming down the Bay, a ſmall boat, with mulberry timbers, about 15 feet keel, and 5 feet broad, has 3 ſeats, and ſtern ſheets in her, with holes for a maſt in the two fore ſeats, painted red in the inſide, and white on the outſide, excepting two hearts on her ſtern, which are red; ſhe has a piece of a ſix inch hawſer (which ſhe broke) made faſt to a ring bolt at her bow, and a ring bolt at her ſtern, with ſwifter fore and aft, by way of fenders; there was likewiſe in her two pigs of iron, and a pair of oars laſhed to her after thwart with a piece of two inch old rope. It is ſuppoſed ſhe is gone aſhore between *Smith's Point* and *Great Wiccomico*, or ſome where thereabout, as the wind blew very hard that art. Whoever finds the ſaid boat, and brings her to me at *Hobb's Hole*, ſhall have FORTY SHILLINGS reward.

ARCHIBALD RITCHIE.

Will be SOLD *at Capt.* Madden's, *in* Prince William *county, on* Tueſday *the 12th day of* April *next, on terms to be agreed on at the day of ſale,*

SEVEN thouſand acres of land, part of the *Brenton* tract. The whole will be laid off in parcels of two hundred acres each. The land is ſo well known in *Virginia*, that I ſhall only ſay, it pays no quitrent, and a ſufficient and ſatisfactory title will be made to the purchaſers. To any one inclinable to purchaſe, it will be neceſſary to pay one third down: Three years credit will be given for one half of the remaining ſum, and ſix years for the other, with or without intereſt, as may be agreed on. The ſubſcriber will be ready to treat with any one for any part of the ſame, before the above term.

R. BRENT.

Cumberland county, *March* 1, 1768.

JANUS, STANDS this ſeaſon at my ſtable in order for covering Mares, at four pounds the ſeaſon, or twenty-ſix ſhillings the leap. Thoſe who do not pay the money upon taking away their mares, muſt give bond, payable in *October* next. I have exceeding good paſturage; but will not be anſwerable for any mares getting away, tho' great care ſhall be take nto prevent it. RICHARD JAMES.

To be SOLD to the higheſt bidder, before Mr. Hay's door, in Williamſburg, *on*

[redacted]

Feb. 10, 1768.

To be SOLD *at private* SALE,

SIX THOUSAND FIVE HUNDRED ACRES of LAND in *Charles City*, pleaſantly ſituate on *James* river; 4 acres of land, with a water griſt mill, on *Mayſer*'s creek, in the ſame county; and two thouſand acres of land in *Halifax* county; they will be ſold altogether, or divided into lots, as may beſt ſuit the purchaſers. Theſe lands were the eſtate of Mr. *William Kennon*, and are conveyed to us (with others his truſtees) for the benefit of his creditors. As a ſale of theſe lands has been before advertiſed, but not effected; it may not be improper, to aſſure the public, that an abſolute diſpoſal of them is now intended; and that we ſhall be ready at all times to receive propoſals for the whole, or any part thereof. Mr. *John Chriſtian* (who lives thereon) will ſhew the land in *Charles City*.

RICHARD RANDOLPH,
JAMES BELSCHES,
JERMAN BAKER.

To be SOLD, on twelve Months Credit,

ABOUT Twenty Thouſand Acres of Land, in the County of *Amherſt*. Apply to Col. *William Cabell* (who is Attorney for the Executors of *Philip Grymes*, Eſq; deceaſed, and lives in the County of *Amherſt*) or to the Subſcriber.

LUNSFORD LOMAX, jun.

N. B. An indiſputable Title will be made, and the Land laid off in Lots, as may ſuit the Purchaſers.

Charles City, September 28, 1767.

TO BE SOLD,

A TRACT of LAND, on *Dan* river, near *Boyd*'s ford, containing 1010 acres, about 500 of which is very fine low ground. Alſo, one other tract, on *Baniſter* river, containing about 1300 acres; five hundred of this is fine low ground, and the high land extremely good; both theſe plantations are in excellent order for cropping, with fifteen hands each. Alſo, one other tract, of about 1600 acres, in *Brunſwick* county, near *Sweed*'s bridge; this is fine lively land, about 30 miles from *Bolling's Point*, has good buildings on it, and is in good order for cropping. On the above plantations, are large ſtocks, and about ſixty negroes; the whole or any part of which will be ſold. For terms apply to

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

SCHEME *of a* LOTTERY

FOR diſpoſing of one hundred and forty-ſix LOTS of LAND, in the town of *Hanover*, yet remaining unſold. The leaſt valuable of the lots, according to the prices of thoſe moſt remote from the river, which have been ſold, not being leſs than £. 20, which is far below what was given for ſeveral near the river.

	lots	value	rents
		£.	£.
Inſpection at *Page*'s, 5 lots at 12 years purchaſe,	-	840	70
Do. *Crutchfield*'s, 6 lots at do.	-	720	60
		1560	130
Lots improved, each half acre, at £. 20 -	135	2700	
		4260	130
137 Prizes. - - - - -	137		
263 Blanks.			
400 Tickets at £. 10 each,	-	4000	

The ſaid lottery will be drawn at Mr. *Anthony Hay*'s in *Williamſburg*, on the 4th *Thurſday* in *April* 1768. Thoſe who do not pay for their tickets on the day of drawing, may give bond to carry intereſt from that time. *Robert Carter Nicholas*, *George Wythe*, *Thomas Everard*, *John Thompſon*, and *Jerman Baker*, Eſqrs; managers, or any three, of whom tickets may be had, and of the ſubſcriber. MANN PAGE.

THE executors having been diſappointed in the SALE of the LANDS belonging to the late Col. *Charles Carter*, of *King George* (according to act of aſſembly impowering them) at Mr. *Neavill*'s ordinary, on the 15th of *September*, as before advertiſed, give notice, that they are at all times ready to treat with any perſon for any part of thoſe Lands, *to wit*, Fourteen thouſand acres of valuable high and low grounds, in *Prince William* and *Fauquier* counties, on *Broad Run* and *Kettle Run*, which are already laid off in lots; within 25 or 30 miles of public navigation, both on *Potowmack* and *Rappahannock* rivers, abounding in fine ſtreams for mills, and timber very ſufficient for all kinds of plantation uſe.

LANDON CARTER,
tf CHARLES CARTER.

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